THE Nation

February 5, 1955
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George Seldes

New War on the Free Press

Gene Marine

Still No Place to Hide

A-Bomb Defense Fizzles

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Test of the Free Air — *Edgar Kemler*

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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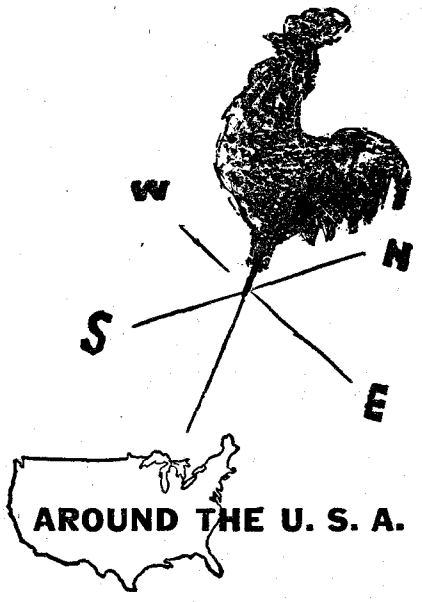

Senator McCarthy's Catholic Opposition

Iowa City, Iowa

ONE of the interesting aspects of the Communist-hunting campaign of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy is that nearly all Roman Catholic intellectuals have opposed the Wisconsin Senator and his foray into subversion. And no more sincere and insistent battler with McCarthy and McCarthyism can be found than Donald McDonald, the young news editor and columnist of the Davenport (Iowa) *Messenger,* official publication of the Davenport diocese.

McDonald, a thirty-three-year-old Catholic layman, first tackled McCarthy in the *Messenger's* columns in June, 1952. His campaign has continued ever since and has met both support and opposition.

McDonald and the Senator have several things in common: both are natives of Wisconsin, graduates of Marquette University, of Irish descent, and of course members of the Roman Catholic church. At the same time the differences between them are basic.

In his writings and speeches McDonald has stressed that Catholics in appraising McCarthy should inform themselves about the church's social and philosophical teachings. He advises Catholics to study the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas in connection with McCarthy's practice of allowing the ends to justify the means. On the Saint's feast day in 1954 he scored McCarthy as a man whose acts are "evil and dangerous."

In his first anti-McCarthy column McDonald tried to explain "why McCarthy caught on." He said McCarthy became popular because "people are reluctant to live up to the radical implications of our country's Declaration of Independence." In this period of post-war disillusionment McCarthy came along and "relieved us of the burden of thinking." He provided, McDonald wrote, "what seemed like . . . the ideal handle for the good, firm grip on political reality. The name of the handle was Conspiracy." "You can no more appeal to a McCarthyite's sense of fair play," he continued, "than you can appeal to a Communist's sense of theistic religion. Fair play and religion are precisely the victims . . . of McCarthyism and communism."

As the campaign progressed, McDonald received a flood of letters from the *Messenger's* readers—Catholics and non-Catholics, Democrats and Republicans. They were about equally divided between praise and damnation. A letter from Iowa City ran: "I left off 'Catholic' on the *Messenger* since I read the McCarthy article in last week's issue. . . . If you are going Communist, then head your paper so. . . . I suppose we'll see Truman, Hiss, and Lattimore and Marshall writing to your paper dragging it into the mire." Other letters described the *Messenger* as following the *"Pravda* line," and as uttering "whopping lies." One signed "An American for America and Joe McCarthy" said McDonald was "Iowa's prize skunk." One was from a Dominican nun at the St. Clara Convent, in Sinsiniwa, Wisconsin. She wrote: "Truly thank God you are writing these comments on the Senator from Wisconsin. But can people be enlightened? Or will they be?" McDonald's discussion of "means and ends" was taken up by a Milwaukee couple who wrote that according to Jesuit teaching at Marquette "the end does not justify the means," but this lesson "evidently escaped Senator McCarthy, who is a Marquette man."

Dr. Matthew M. McMahon, head of the Political Science Department at St. Ambrose College, wrote: "Could it be that Senator J. McCarthy and his followers . . . prefer to go even farther and eliminate reason altogether in preparation for the Great Purge? Otherwise, what could motivate such bedizened men to set themselves up as ex parte judges of not only American loyalty but, alas, even Catholic piety?"

TO support his contention that "McCarthy does not reflect the highest thinking of the church," McDonald made the following points: Leading American churchmen condemn discriminatory immigration legislation; Senator McCarthy supported the McCarran-Walter Act. Pope Pius XII has three times, in Christmas messages, indorsed world federation and world law; Senator McCarthy, in the 1952 campaign, charged Adlai Stevenson with being a member of a group supporting world federation. The Pope has said it is the "moral responsibility" of strong nations to help weak ones; Senator McCarthy has consistently voted against foreign aid. The Pope wrote in 1953: "People must trust their countrymen as long as they have not shown themselves to be positively unworthy"; Senator McCarthy takes the opposite position.

McDonald has criticized Catholic publications which side with McCarthy, especially the Brooklyn *Tablet.* His views are similar to those of the well-known Catholic magazines *Commonweal* and *America.*

Though the McCarthy menace seems lessened now, McDonald continues his campaign. Several weeks after the censure he wrote a column entitled Those Who Ran With the Demagogue in which he said, "It may mean that certain priests in New York will now refrain from directly linking McCarthyism with Catholicism and then accusing McCarthy's critics of anti-Catholicism."

In 1952 the *Messenger* was rated the "best Catholic paper of the year in the field of religious teaching and exhortation." McDonald's writing, if it does nothing else, shows that Catholicism embraces multiple points of view on many social and political questions, McCarthyism included. "As a matter of fact," McDonald once remarked, "that most Irish of all institutions, Notre Dame, is a hotbed of anti-McCarthyism."

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EDITORIALS

The Formosa Message

THE President's message on Formosa and the resolution adopted by Congress must be judged more by their effects than by their intentions. Perhaps Mr. Eisenhower aimed to minimize the risk of war in the Pacific by a public, formal clarification of policy. While reasserting the government's purpose to hold Formosa as an outpost of the "free world" and a strategic point in our Western Pacific defense line, he may have intended also to indicate abandonment of the government's other purpose—to "liberate" the mainland. His expressed hope that the United Nations would continue its efforts for a cease-fire emphasized this historic shift. But such long-range intentions, even if implicit, have been largely nullified by the immense and immediate dangers of his explicit proposals.

The President by requesting the joint resolution and Congress by adopting it have passed to the military the power to take us into an Asian war of incalculable dimensions. The President was not flattering Congress in requesting its support; the effect of the request was to belittle Congress. For the resolution implies an abdication by Congress of its ultimate responsibility, namely, to sanction or reject a declaration of war. Under questioning from Senator Barkley, Secretary Dulles reputedly admitted that the resolution was in effect "a pre-dated declaration of war." The President, it is true, has said that the ultimate decision will be his, not the military's; but this does not alter the fact that the commanders-on-the-spot could shape events in a manner that would force his hand. The fact that strategic decisions may have been reached and specific orders issued may narrow but does not remove the dangerous margin of discretion now vested in the military. Any number of incidents could arise in which an impulsive commander like Admiral Radford might make fateful decisions which, in view of the resolution, Congress and the President would be bound to back up. Moreover, military secrecy has been given broad sanction.

The risks in this situation are enhanced by the vagueness of the resolution. Unfortunately, Mr. Dulles uses neither open nor secret diplomacy but his own special combination of the two, which includes a large measure of calculated ambiguity. The effect is to invite grave misunderstanding of our intentions by the Chinese Communists, the more so since Chou En-lai and his colleagues will inevitably place a hostile interpretation on the resolution and the motives behind it. In such a situation events could determine policy—and the military, in both camps, now hold the initiative in relation to events.

Opportunities for misunderstanding abound. Quemoy guards a mainland port. Does this mean that we may help the Nationalists maintain their harassing partial blockade? On returning from his most recent visit to Formosa, Admiral Radford is said to have proposed that the United States navy be ordered to seize Chinese Communist merchant vessels if the U. N. fails to secure the release of the fliers. It is reported that the National Security Council concurred in the recommendation. Nationalist intelligence, notoriously unreliable, could be another source of misinformation as to Chinese Communist intentions. On their side, the Communists will be tempted to test our intentions step by step. For example, if the navy is used to evacuate and redeploy troops from the Tachen Islands, will not the Reds fear that the action is a cover for reinforcements? Should they attempt to find out, or to halt evacuation, conflict would be almost certain.

THE manner in which the resolution has been received suggests, moreover, that it is not quite so vague as it seems. The satisfaction expressed by right-wing elements in and out of Congress supports the theory that Admiral Radford has greatly advanced his strategic ideas since Dien-bien-phu in April and the initial excitement over Quemoy last September. While the Administration has hesitated, he has been pushing hard for acceptance of his views. He has now, apparently, won unanimity in the Joint Chiefs. If Formosa disliked the reference to a cease-fire with its obvious implications of "two Chinas," it welcomed the apparent extension of the American military commitment; Quemoy and Matsu are now covered, contingently at least, by the guaranty. And this implies still further involvement. Writing in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* on January 20, General Phillips pointed out that Quemoy can be defended only "by means of massive air attacks on mainland concentrations of troops, shipping, and on airdromes far inland." It was because investigations by officers from "the Pentagon and Hawaii" had established this fact, that the defense of Quemoy was abandoned last fall. General Phillips asserts that the same tactics would be needed in the case of the Tachens or Matsu: "United States assistance would have to be in the form of massive

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air strikes on the mainland." It is to this horrifying possibility that the Formosa resolution points.

The effect of the resolution is also to foreclose debate at a critical moment in China policy. The Democrats have been sniping at the Nationalist treaty, largely on technical, legalistic grounds; now the sentiment will be to "close ranks" and curtail debate. And this is the more unfortunate in that the resolution minimizes the reasons urged for adoption of the treaty. It reassures Chiang as to his squatter's rights on Formosa in a manner more satisfying to him than ratification of the treaty. If the treaty is ratified now, in the wake of the resolution, it will further freeze American policy toward Formosa just when, for the first time since 1949, it seemed as though a broader initiative might be politically possible.

Most disturbing is the offhand, casual acceptance of the notion that, the Cairo Declaration notwithstanding, Formosa is somehow ours to dispose of, and in a wholly unilateral manner. "So far as Formosa and the Pescadores are concerned," comments the Washington *Post*, "the United States holds a direct interest in the islands by reason of having taken them from Japan in World War II. This direct American interest has never been relinquished." But what about the views of the other powers which joined with us in the execution of the Japanese treaty, under the terms of which Japan renounced its claim to the islands? And what about the undoubted fact that the Chinese government took over Formosa automatically, without protest or question from any power, at the end of the war with Japan? Throughout the world the resolution will be taken as a unilateral declaration of our intention to regard Formosa as an American strategic preserve.

Thus the effect of the resolution will be to intensify both the risk of military involvement and of alienating friends and neutrals. The President can counter this effect if he will take the issue immediately to the United Nations under circumstances which recognize the right of that body to act and decide. If this was part of the intention behind the message and resolution, it was clumsily executed. Those documents dealt with Formosa in terms that would seem to rule out any United Nations stake in the matter. The speed with which the Administration moves to shift the issue to the U. N. will be a test of its bona fides. In the meantime debate should be suspended on the Formosa treaty.

Major responsibility rests with the Democratic leadership in Congress. The Democrats should not feel that they are captives of their party's past mistakes or of the past in general. They have an opportunity now to terminate the nightmare of fear, uncertainty, and know-nothing-ism which has surrounded every attempt to formulate, through free debate, a sound Asian policy since 1949. They should put themselves in a position to claim credit for extricating the country from this dangerous morass; they might even be able to claim that they had saved the country from war. The question is: have they the courage of Mr. Eisenhower's personal preferences?

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Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington

WHEN Mr. Dulles had explained the new Formosa policy, one Senator asked him what would happen if things failed to work out as the United States had planned. What would the American response be if Communist China failed to show restraint and chose instead to attack the offshore islands? Would the United States bomb the mainland and take the risk of war with China? Faced with these test questions, Mr. Dulles could say nothing more than that America's answer would have to wait until that particular emergency had defined itself more clearly. Yet Mr. Dulles and the Administration continue to praise the policy because, according to them, the obscurity which shadowed American conduct in the Far East has now been removed. There is nothing in the record to justify this confidence.

Admiral Radford, whose power has been increased by recent decisions, prevailed with his argument that an attack on Tachen presaged an assault on Formosa. By consenting to the evacuation of Tachen he could claim to be a moderate rather than a military extremist. He certainly placed himself in a much stronger position when he went on to argue for the defense of Quemoy and Matsu.

In the new controversy General Ridgway was at a greater disadvantage than in September when his protest persuaded the President that Quemoy was not worth the hazards of war. At that time he was arguing against military intervention at Quemoy in the absence of a general policy of resistance toward China. As now defined, the defense of Quemoy becomes one strand in the larger pattern of policy. So General Ridgway lost. With a soldier's faith he has accepted that policy but his anxiety looms ominously. For he sees the strength of the army being reduced while it is being held accountable for more risks.

Last September President Eisenhower won praise all over the free world as a friend of peace when he decided that Quemoy did not deserve the intervention of American force. If he was right in September, and he certainly was, how can he justify his present decision? The strategic value of Quemoy has not altered since September. Only the President's course has changed, and hardly in the direction of peace.

It must be added in fairness that the President's policy is being defended by his friends as a contribution to a cease-fire. Under this explanation the threatening gestures toward China become a minor part of the policy, with the emphasis falling on a political settlement. The State Department believes that America's allies will now increase their campaign for a cease-fire. It doubts whether the Peking government can resist this pressure without alienating India and bearing the odium for continued tension in the Formosa straits. When one asks what concessions the United States would be prepared to make, one receives the astonishing answer that the offshore islands might be given up in return for a genuine settlement.

EVEN President Eisenhower yielded at last to the demand for some explanation of how the policy would be applied. By taking personal responsibility for the use of American force, except for the direct defense of Formosa and immediate self-defense, the President was able to exert his personal influence to silence many of his critics. But this statement would never have been made in this form if Senator Morse and the little band of brave Democrats had kept their doubts and criticisms to themselves. Congress has come very near to endorsing the dangerous principle of strategy by legislation. As Senator Humphrey has said, the resolution requested by the President requires the United States to "secure" other areas apart from Formosa and the Pescadores.

There is something mischievous as well as misleading in the attempt to justify the policy toward Formosa by describing it as an improvement over the Truman-Acheson policy toward Korea. Many Republicans have accused Mr. Acheson of virtually tempting the Communists to attack Korea because he failed to include that country in his description of America's defensive perimeter. This charge rests upon a popular, but completely false, interpretation of Mr. Acheson's remarks. In his speech on January 12, 1950, Mr. Acheson said this defensive perimeter runs along the Aleutians to Japan and then goes to the Ryukyus and the Philippines. It is true that the line left out Korea, which was the ward of the United States. But almost everyone seems to have forgotten that in the same speech Mr. Acheson said that if an armed attack should occur on countries outside the perimeter, the "initial reliance must be on the people attacked to resist it and then upon the commitments of the entire civilized world under the Charter of the United Nations." It was this forgotten passage which provided the authority and the philosophy under which the United States proceeded, six months later, to make Korea the occasion for the first collective resistance to aggression in history.

Mr. Dulles makes a false point when he compares his clarity with Mr. Acheson's obscurity. The real point is that the Truman Administration based its policy on the United Nations; the Eisenhower Administration has fond words for the United Nations but its policy rests on force and the threat of war.

By asking Congress to cooperate, the President gained the initiative. An unresolved dispute between Congress and the President on this issue would have meant that the American government had become the image of confusion in a time of peril. This theme accounted for the success of Senator George's impassioned defense of the President's policy. The votes are with the Administration; but there is no way to portray the invisible vote in which so many Senators of both parties recorded their anxieties before granting reluctant approval.

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International Agenda 1955 . . . by J. A. del Vayo

United Nations

A NUMBER of international conferences of great potential significance are scheduled this year. Two of the most important will take place in Asia: on February 23 the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) will meet for the first time in Bangkok; in April some thirty African and Asian nations will confer in Batavia under the auspices of the Colombo group.

At Bangkok the signatories of the Manila pact—Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States—will attempt to give explicit content to their new alliance. A recent analysis of the Southeast Asian situation by Joseph Alsop in the New York *Herald Tribune* indicates the difficulties confronting SEATO, an organization which is Southeast Asian more in name than in reality. India, not a member, has three times the combined populations of the three Asian member states—Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan. Indonesia and Burma are also out of SEATO, which is clearly dominated by the United States, France, and the Commonwealth countries.

In the light of the instability and unrest ascribed to most Southeast Asian countries by Mr. Alsop, it is idle for the West to blame all revolutionary trends there on "internal subversion"—by which is meant Communist pressure. Vietnam is crumbling because of internal weaknesses, not because of Communist intrigue; Cambodia and Laos, largely cut off from Indo-Chinese territory with which they were intimately linked economically, are very nearly in a helpless situation; Thailand's social inequities and discredited bureaucracy are more damaging to the regime than any infiltration from Peking.

ACCORDING to reports from London, the British will insist at Bangkok that economic and political problems be given equal weight with the purely military. The British are hoping that President Eisenhower's request to Congress for funds with which to finance a vast aid program in Asia means that Washington has at last realized the error of attempting to counteract communism's attraction for the Asians by military means alone.

However, in the light of Mr. Eisenhower's Formosa message, one must regard with some skepticism his professed desire to emphasize economic competition and improved living standards as cold-war weapons in Southeast Asia. In any case plans are still in the making. They are now being worked on by Presidential adviser Nelson Rockefeller, who has done somewhat similar jobs for Latin America. Joseph Dodge, the budget expert who put Japan's finances in order before the peace treaty with that country was signed in San Francisco, may also be called into consultation. Whatever the results, the American delegation at Bangkok will be expected to present a concrete program in terms of money as well as arms.

Washington's aid plan for Southeast Asia is not designed to enable underdeveloped countries to reinforce their economic structure so as to withstand future political or economic crises. The objective is interdependence rather than independence, the creation of complementary economies in various countries which together would form a strongly integrated economic region depending for its supplies and its markets primarily on the United States and secondarily on Western Europe. This would tend to endear the plan to Congress, but even so there are many observers who foresee strong Congressional opposition. Unlike Marshall Plan money, the funds for Southeast Asia would have to be given without political strings save for the establishment of security guaranties for private investors, and the money would be flowing into countries not considered "safe." U. N. experts doubt that the Administration is likely to get Congressional approval for the expenditure of more than a billion dollars or so a year, despite reports that the sums would involve billions annually. On January 20 Walter Lippmann reported:

> . . . Nor would it be a serious exaggeration to say that in [the new] budget the exigencies of the cold war receive hardly more than token recognition. In the great competitive struggle as to whether the underdeveloped nations shall follow the one path or the other, the budget leaves Mr. Dulles and Mr. Stassen mighty little, except mimeographed statements, to compete with.

THE second important Asian meeting, the Afro-Asian conference to be held in April, is intended not to create a "neutralist" third force, as some commentators have alleged, but rather as a clearing-house for problems common to the two continents. Issues connected with national sovereignty, racialism, and colonialism will be examined; specifically, there will no doubt be extensive debate on the Manila pact, on the problems arising from the presence of large Chinese minorities in Southeast Asia and of Indian minorities in South and East Africa, and on the question of China's admission to the United Nations. The meeting's importance will be underlined by the presence of representatives of Communist China—a personal triumph for Premier Nehru.

Two major gatherings will take place in Geneva. The first, called together by Gunnar Myrdal, secretary of the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe, will deal with East-West trade. Interest in the sessions has been increased by the spectacular change in the attitude of Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, who in the course of testimony before a Congressional committee came out quite bluntly in favor of increased trade with Communist countries. The other Geneva conference, slated for August, is the well-publicized meeting of atomic experts who will seek to lay the groundwork for the President's atoms-for-peace plan.

The big question remains: Will the conference agenda for 1955 include a four-power meeting on Germany? If not, the most serious problem will have been left untouched.

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NEW WAR ON THE PRESS

"Reform" from the Right . . *by George Seldes*

(Superficially it would seem that with this article George Seldes, for more than a quarter-century a foremost critic of the American press, had suddenly switched sides. But a closer look makes it abundantly clear that the author of "Tell the Truth and Run," "Lords of the Press," and numerous other books on American journalism is still battling for his original objective—the freedom of the press.

Mr. Seldes's article will appear in two instalments, the second to be printed next week.)

FOR the first time in American history the press, which Jefferson described as playing a greater role in a democracy than government itself, is under sustained attack from the right—the reactionary or potentially fascist element in the United States. Ever since the nation was established, however, the press has been attacked from other quarters. Jefferson's disappointment with it after his early approval is a long and fascinating story. The historian Charles A. Beard wrote that Washington had refused a third term because of the cruelty of many newspapers. In our own time Roosevelt, Truman, and Adlai Stevenson have said harsh things about a press whose social and economic views, they felt, were as one-sided as its politics.

Many of the critics have been journalists who felt strongly about the ethics, or lack of them, in their profession. A tradition of self-criticism was started in 1911 by Will Irwin in Collier's; it was continued by Oswald Garrison Villard in *The Nation,* William Allen White, E. W. Scripps, and the present writer. A notable "outsider" was notable indeed: Upton Sinclair's "The Brass Check," published in 1920, disillusioned more people about their daily newspapers than any other single piece of writing.

Practically all serious criticism has been from the liberal point of view. It was summed up for the modern era in John Dewey's statement that "the reactionaries are in possession of power, not only in the army and police but in the press and the schools." Until the last few years criticism from the right came principally from the "lunatic fringe" which in the early days of World War II vented its anti-Semitism and pro-Nazism in a few scandal sheets. Today the rightist invective comes less from crackpots than from powerful politicians, writers, and broadcasters—men who have access to mass-communications media influencing more than 60,000,000 people, perhaps a majority of all Americans who are reached regularly by the printed word or the broadcast.

ONE of the most sinister aspects of the movement known as McCarthyism is its effort to discredit and thereby to destroy the democratic elements in radio, TV, magazine and book-publishing circles, as well as the daily press. The middle-of-the-roader no less than the liberal and leftist is victimized. In the beginning only individual newspapers and editors were attacked, and then mostly for personal reasons. In 1949 the Madison, Wisconsin, *Capital Times,* edited by William T. Evjue, one of the few courageous liberals left in American journalism, published an expose of Senator McCarthy's affairs which remains the basis of most debate about McCarthy, pro and con. This was a year before the Senator met some friends in a restaurant, asked for suggestions for a 1952 campaign issue, and got the tip in one word—communism. The Senator responded to the *Capital Times* attack by sending to every Wisconsin newspaper a mimeographed release which said: "It is for the people of Madison and vicinity to decide whether they will continue by advertisements and subscriptions to support this paper." Many journals printed this threat, seeing in it a chance to destroy one of their competitors.

In the winter of 1951-52 McCarthy again attempted the boycott tactic—on this occasion against *Time. Editor and Publisher* protested vigorously, noting that the Senator had made five attacks on communications media: on the *Capital Times* in 1949; on the same newspaper plus the Milwaukee *Journal,* August 7, 1950; on the *Journal* and radio station WTMJ, September 14, 1950; on Drew Pearson's radio program the same year (Pearson lost his sponsor, Adam Hats, following the attack); and finally on *Time.* In October, 1952, McCarthy engaged in a bitter fight with Hank Greenspun, editor of the Las Vegas, Nevada, *Sun.*

Despite this handful of personal vendettas McCarthy had as yet no cause to complain of the press as a whole. It had printed as fact his charge, made in the course of the famous speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, in February, 1950, that there were 205 Communist Party members in the State Department. The number was juggled later, but what was important was that with few exceptions the mass-communications media were on McCarthy's side.

But the American press, whatever its faults, is not totalitarian; and it takes only one great newspaper to puncture fraud or to uncover corruption. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* exposed Teapot Dome; it also exposed McCarthy's Wheeling speech. Refusing to accept the original figure of 205 or the later 57, 206, or 106, or even the final stabilization at 81, the newspaper instructed its Washington staff to get the facts. Helped by Representative Frank Karsten of Missouri, it was able to prove that the figures given by McCarthy and headlined in the press were w i t h o u t any foundation. "Pressed for proof, McCarthy said it was 'in the files.' The files were produced, but the 'proof' was not in them."

McCarthy promptly pinned the red label on the few papers which joined the *Post-Dispatch,* the *Cap-*

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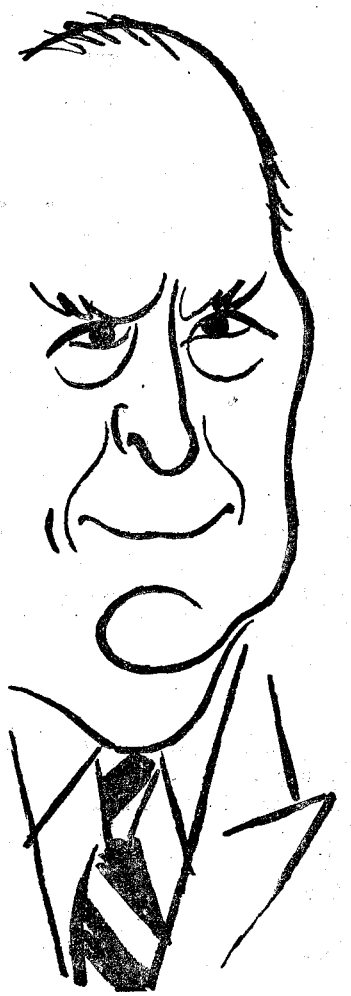
ital Times, and the Milwaukee *Journal* in disagreeing with him. In his lexicon the Washington *Post* became the "Washington edition of the *Daily Worker*" and the New York *Herald Tribune,* the "uptown edition." At various times he dubbed as subversive or "pinko" or as "wittingly or unwittingly following the Communist line" such papers as the New York *Times,* the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* the Denver *Post,* the Portland *Oregonian,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* the Baltimore *Sun,* and the New York *Post.*

There is a special irony in the list of newspapers smeared by McCarthy. In May, 1952, the publicist Edward L. Bernays polled American editors and civil leaders to determine what were, in their judgment, the ten best newspapers in the country. Eight of the ten chosen by the poll have been smeared by McCarthy and his disciples—the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* the Washington *Post,* the Milwaukee *Journal,* and the Baltimore *Sun.* Finally on March 20, 1954, no doubt goaded by Edward R. Murrow's brilliant TV expose of McCarthyism at work and by the rapidly developing opposition in the Department of the Army, the Senator forgot about individual targets and launched an attack on the press as a whole. Speaking at Oklahoma City, he threatened, according to the New York *Times,* to "expose the extent of what he termed Communist infiltration and control of the American press, radio, and television."

WHO are the apostles of the "new" criticism, the supporters of the McCarthy creed? The following is an incomplete list of publications and individuals that are defending the Senator.

Newspapers: The Hearst newspapers, including feature syndicates and press service; the Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *Daily News,* including radio, syndicate, and press services; William Loeb's Manchester, New Hampshire, newspapers; the Newark *Star-Ledger;* and a score of smaller dailies.

Journalists: Westbrook Pegler, Fulton Lewis, Jr., George E. Sokolsky, Paul Harvey, John O'Donnell, Walter Winchell, Danton Walker, David Lawrence, Walter Trohan of



Oscar Berger

Westbrook Pegler

the Chicago *Tribune,* and Constantine Brown of the Washington *Star.* Of twenty-eight individuals who recently signed a public protest which charged that McCarthy was not being treated fairly "by segments of the press, radio, and television," nineteen were journalists—William F. Buckley, Oliver Carlson, John Chamberlain, John B. Chapple, Frank Chodorov, Frank Coniff, George Creel, Ralph de Toledano, John T. Flynn, Frank Hanighen, Karl Hess, Robert Hurleigh, Suzanne La Follette, Victor Lasky, Fulton Lewis, Jr., William Loeb, Eugene Lyons, Felix Morley, and J. C. Phillips. Also supporting McCarthy are the following writers: Burton Rascoe, Harold Lord Varney, who was associated with Lawrence Dennis and Joseph Kamp in publishing the first pro-fascist American monthly, the *Awakener;* Edward K. Nellors, "legman" for Fulton Lewis's newspaper column syndicated by Hearst; and Rex Karney, an editorial writer for the *Wisconsin State Journal.*

Magazines and other periodicals: The *American Legion Magazine,* the *American Mercury,* the *Freeman, Human Events,* Gerald L. K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag,* the Brooklyn *Tablet,* and a half-dozen small hate sheets.

Noteworthy about this list is the dominance of Hearst and McCormick, whose publications and writers are McCarthy's most influential supporters. It was Hearst and McCormick, together with the late Colonel Patterson, Frank Gannett, and Roy Howard, who bore the brunt of the "old" criticism, that coming from liberals. These were the giants of an industry which had failed, according to the report of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, to serve the American democracy. Now they are having their day. Roy M. Cohn, addressing the Catholic Institute of the Press on December 9, 1954, gave the show away when he attacked the New York *Times* and the Baltimore *Sun* but had only kind words for Hearst's *Mirror* and *Journal-American,* McCormick's *Daily News,* and the Brooklyn *Tablet,* the diocesan weekly which was once the organ of the Christian Front and which, like the Hearst and McCormick papers, had on occasion praised Hitler and Mussolini.

According to *Look* magazine, McCarthy's "master-minds" are Fulton Lewis, Jr., Pegler, Sokolsky, Walker, Trohan, and Brown. His chief journalistic mouthpiece is Lewis, who boasts that through his broadcasts and newspaper columns he influences 16,000,000 people. Lewis insists that his reports are "absolutely fair" and that he is doing a job in "strict justice" (WOR-Mutual network, July 29, 1954). If he really believes this, he is the victim of a delusion of noble proportions.

Lewis and McCarthy seem to work hand in hand. Sometimes the commentator starts a smear campaign on the air and the Senator picks it up on the Senate floor; sometimes the process is reversed. Lewis does not enjoy his friend's Senatorial immunity; so he is very careful of libel.

> You'd expect the Daily Worker to be against McCarthy. But look at the rest. Not Communists, of course, but those who oppose the anti-Communists — the anti-anti-

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> Communists. The apologists for Alger Hiss, for instance. Look at them—the Washington Post, the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Alsops, Drew Pearson, Elmer Davis, Marquis Childs, Frank Edwards, Cecil Brown, John W. Vandercook . . . and all the rest of the so-called liberal columnists, whoever and wherever they are.

Lewis has raised the libel-proof smear to a high art. Here are some typical Lewisisms: newspapers and radio critics who favored Murrow in the Murrow-McCarthy episode were guilty of "intellectual lynch law" (March 23, 1954); press criticism of the attempt to appoint Judge Sears as attorney for the Senate subcommittee which held the McCarthy-Army hearings was a "left-wing smear campaign" (April 2, 1954); Paul Hoffman was a "left-wing pink dilettante" (August 12, 1954); Marquis Childs, Drew Pearson, the Alsops, the New York *Post,* and other journalists and newspapers made up "the greatest Trojan horse since the fall of Troy" (October 5, 1954). While James Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post,* was appearing before the McCarthy committee, Lewis declared the *Post* was campaigning for things which looked "communistic" to him (April 20, 1953).

After McCarthy's abortive attempt to crush certain publications by urging an advertising boycott, the Senator and Lewis tried to reach the same goal in another way. They joined in a campaign to raise the postal rates on newspapers and magazines. This failed, too, and Lewis, on July 28, 1953, sadly announced that the bill had finally "fallen victim . . . to the magazine publishers' lobby."

WESTBROOK PEGLER is the only professional red-baiter who glories in the name; he has called upon colleagues like Lewis, Sokolsky, and others to join him in a "society of red-baiters." Pegler devoted a considerable part of his 1954 literary production to attacking his fellow molders of public opinion; unlike most of the "new critics," however, he usually preferred to smear the press as a whole rather than any of its individual parts. On March 30, 1954, he wrote:

> Senator Joe McCarthy has proposed a Congressional investigation of the press. For once I agree with the New York Times, which says it welcomes the idea. . . . The conduct of the American free press has not been the least disgraceful phase of the controversy over Joe McCarthy. The press has covered itself with shame, and nobody knows that better than the journalists who comprise it. . . . The press has lied itself blue in the face month after month during the army-McCarthy hearings. . . . I have not gone in for names in this general discussion because the situation is general.

Two days later Pegler devoted his entire column to a 1907 episode involving the arrest for burglary of a butler at the home of Mortimer Schiff—an arrest which the Hearst press at the time denounced as unwarranted. This dredging of the sewers of journalism was for the purpose of smearing Mr. Schiff's daughter, who happens to be the publisher of the New York *Post,* and

Ben Shahn

George Sokolsky

who happens also to have been a child at the time the episode took place. Pegler is constantly using similar scurrilous tactics against the Franklin D. Roosevelt family; so Dorothy Schiff is in good company.

Here are a few more utterances of the man who in his column of March 12, 1954, styled himself one of America's "honest polemists";

> The New York Daily News says the McCarthy "trial" has produced a curious reaction in many of the most respectable (if less and less respected) newspapers. . . . Unquestionably the press is under public scrutiny and suspicion, mostly, I think, because of the conduct of the New York Times and Herald Tribune, which has been a dramatic shock to the people and a blow to the whole Fourth Estate (April 28, 1954).
>
> Moreover, Fred [Woltman, the Scripps-Howard writer whom Pegler once invited to join his "red-baiters club" but who has turned against McCarthy] doesn't write well enough to swing any weight (July 28, 1954).
>
> How odd it is that traitors, protectors of traitors, and persons who indorse treason to students in the schools are the only clients of this piercing solicitude by this segment of the press . . . the compromise with treason which is implicit in the editorial voice of most of the American press. Box-office venality is the cause of this ruinous development (October 5, 1954).

Lewis and Pegler are the most prolific of the apostles of the New criticism, but they get valuable support occasionally from distinguished conferes. Paul Harvey, syndicated columnist and WABC network newscaster, told his radio audience on March 21, 1954, that newspapermen who opposed the Senator were "journalistic jackals." John O'Donnell, syndicated columnist for the New York *Daily News,* came to McCarthy's defense during the army-McCarthy hearings in May, 1954: "The people who buy papers are wondering . . . whether they are getting an honest report in supposedly factual and unbiased news columns. In some cases the suspicions are well founded." David Lawrence of the New York *Herald Tribune,* in his column of May 12, 1954, decried the "hue and cry" over the Wechsler inquisition, alleging that it came "mostly from left-wingers."

Walter Winchell, according to Drew Pearson, "is helping to peddle the yarn that every anti-McCarthy newspaper in the U. S. A. has someone on the editorial staff placed there by the Communists." Winchell began the new year with a Sunday broadcast in which he charged that the press was suppressing one of the most terrible truths of our time—that the Communists were taking over Asia and Africa. His proof? Five Asian Premiers—not one a Communist—had met at Jakarta, Indonesia, drafted a peace plan, and projected an Asia-Africa conference to which Red China was to be invited. This was proof enough for Winchell.

It is a lamentable fact that the

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American press, which has rarely allowed to go unchallenged any criticism from the left, no matter how mild, is by and large refusing to take up this new challenge from the right. *Editor and Publisher,* quick enough to defend the press against attack by McCarthy himself, has had little to say about McCarthy's mud-slinging journalistic followers. The November 13 issue reported, without editorial comment, the presentation to Pegler by a group of friends of a silver statuette and a book of letters from three hundred "leading citizens of the world." How far does *nobless oblige* go?

STILL NO PLACE TO HIDE

A-Bomb Defense Fizzles . . *by Gene Marine*

WHEN Governor Val Peterson of Nebraska became Federal Civil Defense Administrator in 1953, he said that his department's motto was "Dig, die, or disperse." As of early 1955 neither digging nor dispersing will do any good.

The symposium on National Defense Against Atomic Attack, held in Berkeley, California, on December 27 as part of the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, was well attended by scientists and military men, but reporters were conspicuously absent. Seemingly the only ones who listened to Mr. Peterson's talk were those who wished to question him after the meeting; the rest, to judge from the newspaper stories that appeared the next day, "covered" the symposium from the press room two stories below. The trouble with this kind of coverage was that the speech read by the public was an innocuous collection of cliches, very different from the striking warning actually delivered.

Together with the other two papers presented, Peterson's address provided as complete a picture as unclassified information will give of the state of our defense against atomic attack—the word "atomic" is used by the Civil Defense Administration to cover fusion as well as fission phenomena. Lieutenant General Willard Paul of the Office of Defense Mobilization, who was ill and whose paper was read by an assistant, and Major General Walter Todd, commander of the Western Air Defense Force, provided the details which Peterson combined into the broad picture. From the three talks emerged answers to the three most often asked questions about atomic defense: How does our air defense work? How well prepared are we? And, most important, what will be the effects of an attack?

Methods of Defense

ONCE enemy planes are air-borne, they are the responsibility of the Continental Air Defense Command (C. O. N. A. D.), a heterogeneous structure made up of members of all the services as well as some civilians. C. O. N. A. D.'s job is to detect enemy aircraft, identify them, intercept them, and destroy them. Its capacity to do so was of course not fully revealed. "Ideal requirements," according to General Todd, "are probably not beyond our scientific and productive capabilities, but they may be beyond our pocket-book."

Detection is a radar job. At present we have a chain of radar stations along our coastlines and our northern border and across Canada and Alaska. A few are located well out to sea, on navy picket ships or on so-called "Texas towers," built on wave-covered reefs. Beyond them operate radar-equipped warning planes. Radar cannot see through hills or around corners and cannot tell friend from foe, limitations which are met to some extent by the use of civilian ground observers.

Needed for the "near-perfect air defense," according to General Todd, are several rings of radar stations, with radar good enough to detect planes at a height of 80,000 feet and at a greater distance than at present. Needed, too, are a million ground observers, three times the present number. And needed is a device for automatic scanning of radarscopes; the human operator has to sit watching a steadily rotating radial line for hours on end. It is all too easy to get drowsy.

When a radarscope picks up a "blip" it has to be identified. Theoretically this is done by matching the radar track against known flight plans; anyone flying a plane in or near specified "air-defense identification zones" is required to file a detailed plan. Occasionally, though, there are mixups, since a plane may be forced by weather or other conditions to deviate from its intended path. When this happens, planes have to be sent up to investigate. There is no other method of identification.

The first interceptors to go up will probably belong to one of three types. C. O. N. A. D. uses the F-86D, an advanced version of the famed Saberjet, and two newer two-man interceptors, the F-94C Starfire and the F-89D Scorpion. The second man in these planes is the radar observer; after ground radar leads the plane to the enemy's vicinity, the plane's own radar takes over.

According to General Todd, we already need more and faster interceptors. They must "exist in sufficient quantity to cope with the largest possible number of aircraft the enemy might direct." And they must be able to intercept bombers well off shore. The danger is "fallout"—the ominous term to which every discussion of "defense" returns.

Bombers that get through the first interceptor ring will be met by more conventional "augmentation" aircraft armed with machine-guns. Behind them will be the ground anti-aircraft defense, which is now com-

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pleting its conversion to the "Nike" guided missile.

The "Nike" has been much touted in the press and in Defense Department talks. Generally not mentioned is the fact that it is after all a last-ditch defense. "Nike" is better than old-fashioned anti-aircraft guns, but it is no magic wand to make bombers disappear. Here, too, the need is for greater and greater range, to knock down bombers as far from target areas as possible.

How effective is this ring-within-ring defense? Pounding the lectern, General Todd said dramatically, "It *cannot* stop them all!" How many it could stop he did not say.

Preparation Measures

IF A single hydrogen bomb were dropped on Los Angeles, Governor Peterson told us flatly, the city would be "gone." What, then, if twenty or thirty or fifty planes "get through," each with a single bomb, each with a different city as a target? In twenty of our cities are located 56 per cent of our productive capacity, 30 per cent of our population, and 46 per cent of our industrial workers. If bombs were dropped on fifty cities, they would destroy by blast and fire alone 71 per cent of our industrial capacity and kill 63,000,000 people—and we haven't even begun to talk about fall-out. In addition, such an attack would knock out practically the entire government, almost all of whose functions are carried on in the larger cities—a fact which has been referred to as the "glass jaw" of our defense structure.

It is not hard to realize why General Paul said the question was not one of defense but of reaction—how to get off the floor. His principles for what he called "realistic defense" were (1) to reduce the effects of the attacks, (2) to assure the continuing function of government and of "necessary services," and (3) to restore destroyed essentials and keep up—this is what the man said—"the will to fight."

Preparation divides naturally into two kinds: permanent preparation, such as is embodied in the building of new factories away from "target areas," and attack preparation, consisting of such things as evacuation plans, communication setups, and emergency organization. At the moment we have little of the first and practically none of the second.

Methodical dispersal of new factories seems to be coming along. In 1954, 86 per cent of all new factories costing a million dollars or more were built in "dispersed areas." But the dispersion of industrial workers to match the isolation of factories is another problem. General Paul suggested that dense population centers must be dispersed "until the individual city is no longer worthy of attack"—a massive, if not impossible, proposition. Regionally discriminatory freight rates would remain to be dealt with, as well as other factors the General did not mention, such as power sources and proximity to raw materials.

Another form of permanent preparation requires the scattered storage of materials, so that we would not be paralyzed by the loss of stocks concentrated in some one city. This is being done, but to what extent General Paul did not say. Certainly we would be hurt, and hurt badly, by attacks on food warehouses, on oil concentrations like those on the New Jersey shore near New York, on concentrations of medical supplies in big cities, and—a usually overlooked point—on headquarters of our finance and credit system.

There has been no move to set up a federal-government structure that will survive the attack, though it would seem imperative that a setup to operate during the crisis be organized before the crisis. Much of the centralized authority and the clearing through Washington will apparently have to be dispensed with.

Under the heading of permanent protection General Paul also listed "protective construction." We must, he said, build shelters in our older buildings, put "structural protection" into our newer buildings, build our houses stronger and eliminate fire hazards in them. Governor Peterson told us, however, that to remain in a target area would be suicide. Within a target area there is no shelter, even in lead-lined vaults.

If we get warning in time—which with present equipment we almost certainly shall not—there remains evacuation. Obviously no large city can be evacuated anywhere near 100 per cent, even with ample time, but any evacuation, the Defense Administration believes, is better than none. It has made several experiments to test the possibilities. In Spokane, a city of 175,000, a recent test showed that 16,000 people could be evacuated out of the downtown area, in the rain, in 8½ minutes. But they went only "seven or eight blocks"—an insignificant distance to an H-bomb. In Mobile, a city of 200,000, some 30,000 people were evacuated out of a 400-block area, in cars, to the city limits in 22 minutes. A Milwaukee study showed that metropolitan Milwaukee, with Lake Michigan on the east and Chicago on the south, could move four-fifths of its population out of "probable bombing range," north and west, in from three to seven hours. With a few roads widened and a few bridges improved, it could be done faster.

Walt Partymiller
Courtesy York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

Anybody listening?

But no city in the United States can count on three hours' warning. And "probable bombing range" is a phrase that takes in blast and fire effect but not radioactivity—or fall-out.

The foregoing summary of the papers read at the Berkeley meeting makes it fairly plain that we have as yet no effective defense against atomic attack and have made no adequate preparation for it. But the entire discussion of warning, dispersal, and evacuation may be academic. For we come now to fall-out.

Blast, Heat, and Radioactivity

THE atomic bomb that fell on Hiroshima was the equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT. The last exploded hydrogen bomb was 500 times as powerful. Admiral Strauss's statement that a hydrogen bomb would knock out New York City

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turns out to be a terrific understatement. But the most serious threat of the H-bomb may not be its explosive force. It works its destruction through blast, heat, and radioactivity, and the last, as Governor Peterson pointed out, has been too much minimized in America.

Radioactive material from a bomb blast is scattered in three ways. The "puff-out" extends over a radius of four or five miles. Surface winds carry the material farther, and an enemy would probably try to take advantage of their direction and strength. Material sent very high by the explosion may be caught up in winds from ten to fifty thousand feet above the surface of the earth and spread across its face. When it is dropped it is called fall-out. In general these winds seem to move from west to east.

Fall-out patterns (the distribution of fall-out material after recent tests) and fall-out dosages (its effect on human beings) are classified information. But Governor Peterson was willing to say, quite simply, that you cannot escape fall-out by evacuating down wind. It was fall-out material that drifted down on the Japanese fishing boat the Lucky Dragon.

Governor Peterson made another statement which is perhaps even more significant. Civil defense, he said, is not, as many people think, an urban problem. "There is no farmer or rancher," he said solemnly, "who may not be right in the middle of the fall-out."

Much of the radioactivity of the fall-out material disappears within hours, but not all of it. In a large building or a secure basement the hazard is minimized. Under three feet of ground—in a cyclone cellar for instance—there is no danger from radioactive fall-out provided you have an effective filter in your air intake. At most, one would probably have to stay in such a shelter for two days. What constitutes an "effective" filter was not explained.

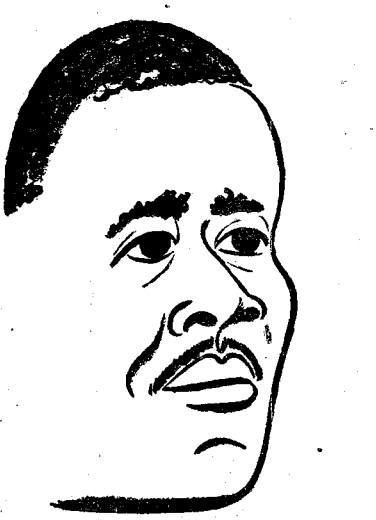
Those who live fifteen miles or more from a target area, then, should have some sort of "backyard shelter." It will protect them—to some extent—against fire and blast and also, Peterson said, against the immediate effects of radioactivity. For those who are any nearer to the blast, there is probably no hope. And even those who survive will come out into a country without food, fuel, or institutions of government or finance to organize recovery.

The nation may become properly aroused if, as Governor Peterson believes must happen, the classified information on fall-out is made public regardless of its value to an enemy. But as of now the state of our defense is such that we can neither avoid being hit nor get off the floor after the blow. There is not only no place to to hide; the age of hiding and hitting back is over.

CARIBBEAN CAUDILLO

Magloire of Haiti . . *by Herbert Gold*

IN A number of speeches made during an extended voyage last summer President Paul Eugene Magloire of Haiti, who visited the United States last week, proclaimed his country's adherence to democratic methods, free speech, and an informed public opinion. Back home, the *telejiol,* or telemouth, the traditional Haitian technique for transmitting political news, buzzed maliciously. Democratic methods, it was said, were hardly exemplified by the imprisonment of the intellectuals who had dared express opposition to the present regime. This small group, which had only lately been released, included two deputies, arrested despite their parliamentary immunities, and a senator who later escaped to a foreign legation. As to free speech, the *Constitutionel,* the last newspaper to breathe any criticism to the regime's policies, was closed down during the President's tour abroad and the editor threatened with "bodily harm" by the chief of police. And certainly public opinion could not be informed when the program to combat the approximately 85 per cent of illiteracy in Haiti was being almost starved out of the budget.



Oscar Berger

President Magloire

The extreme illiteracy of Haiti cannot be blamed on the people, who are alert and sharp-witted and produce a piquant folk art. The desire for learning is widespread; parents throng to enrol their children in school, but thousands of pupils have to be turned away every year because of the lack of facilities. The ruling elite fears to lose its favored position if the educational base is broadened.

An ideal of freedom and progress rooted in Haiti's origin as a nation of former slaves who won their independence by their own efforts is crushed by the dead weight of class prejudice—between black and mulatto, between the kinky-haired and the "bon," or straight-haired, between those who speak Creole and the minority who cling to French

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traditions, between peasant and city-dweller, between the miserable and the well-to-do, between the men in power and the men they displaced. A pumping station built for irrigation purposes was never used because the credit would go to an earlier regime.

WITH United Nations and Point 4 aid some attempts are being made to stimulate the almost stagnant economy. A large irrigation project is being developed for the Artibonite Valley. The sunny climate and Haiti's peculiar elegance, that odd meeting of French and African traditions, have stimulated a growing tourist industry. But veiled by the luxury spending in the lovely, smoky-skied capital of Port-au-Prince, one of the worst depressions in history has Haiti in its grasp. Despite the fine houses being constructed on every hilltop for the President and his favorites, despite the official Cadillacs and the great parties at which the traditional rum has given way to imported scotch, students still do their lessons under street lamps because their huts have no lights, and peasants still farm out their children as servants because they cannot feed them.

The director of a rural school says that the children are unable to study because they are hungry; a cup of coffee for breakfast, a banana or a mango for lunch, is common fare. One of the most densely populated areas in the world, Haiti has one of the lowest standards of living. The average per capita income is less than $50 a year. Without the simplest industries Haiti must import all manufactured goods, and also fish, rice, flour, and other basic foodstuffs.

Years of exploitation have convinced the people that they have nothing to gain by working. Less coffee is produced now than when the country was a French colony. Recently a private trust secretly owned by members of the regime was given the exclusive right to buy sisal fiber, the other money crop.

With little hope for the future the Haitian takes what pleasure he can today. He loves children, songs, dancing, and jokes. But he is often heard to say, calmly and with full self-knowledge, "Je suis un miserable." A Creole poem by F. Morriseau-Leroy runs:

Oscar Berger

Tourist, don't take my picture
Don't take my picture, tourist
I'm too ugly
I'm too dirty
I'm too skinny
My donkey is overloaded
My house is made of straw
Your camera isn't used to such things.

"The best way, the only way, to insure your old age," proclaims a poster: "buy a ticket in the national lottery!"

The radio and press blare forth daily denunciations of the enemies of the regime without ever naming them. If you denounce a man now, he may be President next month and looking for your head. Newspaper editors are well-paid for their docility; in a sea of illiterates the press could not survive without the government subsidy. The largest newspaper prints but slightly more than 3,000 copies a day. Of course, a government-fed press does not make lively reading. It plays on one dominant theme: "Le sourire de Son Excellence est la meilleure guarantie de nos libertes."

Yet Haitians are less susceptible than most people to one-man rule. Throughout their national history they have jealously guarded their individual freedom. Haitian humor suggests a prudent submission but is derisory of power: "When the rotten tree falls, we goats will eat its leaves." Popular songs refer to the President as "Papa," but they are played more often for dancing than for the celebration of "Papa," and the word is pronounced with a smile. Traditionally, songs in Haiti express hidden commentaries.

The present regime has been busier than most in filling its pockets from the public treasury, as if it sensed the possibility of an abrupt end to opportunity. This has of course contributed to the country's economic strangulation. The treasury is so empty that at this writing it is not certain that funds will be found to pay the distribution costs of free CARE milk. The working-class quarters of the cities are crowded with disconsolate unemployed men, playing checkers in the doorways of their packing-crate houses or desperately looking for an odd job that can supply another day's rice and beans. The peasants, after paying the coffee tax, get almost nothing for their product.

The President, an amiable, hard-drinking, pleasure-loving officer, is frequently seen in the night clubs of Port-au-Prince, his bodyguards and the bearer of his private bottle standing at attention behind him. Black-skinned, he is an example of the politics of *doublure,* in which the generally light-skinned ruling elite chooses a cooperative black man to represent its interests. After four years in office he shows signs of taking his "unanimous mandate" seriously, and his political supporters are worried. It should be someone else's chance soon. There are uneasy references to the time of troubles a hundred years ago when a sleepy old general named Soulouque, pushed blinking into office, suddenly shook off the burden of his years and had himself declared Emperor Faustin I. Empires are out of style now, but totalitarian government thrives.

Haiti's inability to set up a government capable of meeting its needs illustrates the twentieth-century problem of how to develop democratic processes in a backward nation. No one doubts the ability of Haitians. No one questions the realistic analyses which the educated Haitian can make of national problems. Few would dispute the will of Haitians to improve their lot. But what can they do? A handful of determined men in uniform is able to keep an entire population resenting its bitter fate in whispers.

In the days before the American occupation of 1915 a crude system of checks and balances was provided by the weapons in the hands of the peasants. When a government grew too greedy, out it went. The marines disarmed the peasants, and the

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power passed to their creation, the Haitian army. The machine-gun displaced the machete. Now the peasants can do nothing against confiscatory taxes but refuse to tend the coffee trees. Nor can the workers make any effective protest, for the present government has abolished all political parties and all trade unions except a puppet taxi-drivers' union. In the past business men caught by an economic squeeze have had recourse to a commercial strike. Such a strike precipitated the fall of the Estime government in 1950. But the use of modern police-state methods against uncooperative citizens discourages a business man from closing his doors.

The circle seems almost complete. Without popular education and a liberal exchange of opinion, democracy cannot develop. A military regime will never make a serious effort to banish illiteracy. Order maintained by those who understand the situation is more convenient for property-holders than free elections.

Some desperate Haitians hope for intervention by the United Nations or the United States. However, the United Nations cannot act when no aggression is exercised except against the local population. The United States has an understandable reluctance to intervene in the affairs of a state where no known Communists are functioning. A people in misery is natural prey to Communist propaganda, and it is said that some refugee Haitians are being trained in Moscow, but at present communism is a purely rhetorical threat in Haiti.

TEST OF THE FREE AIR

The Lamb Case . . *by Edgar Kemler*

CAN a reputable business man and successful radio-TV broadcaster be expelled from the Republican-controlled broadcasting industry because he happens to be a Democrat and a veteran of the so-called "pink decade"? The Republican-dominated Federal Communications Commission obviously thinks so. Otherwise, the status of Edward Lamb, who owns stations in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Florida, would not now be in jeopardy. (See the Ted Lamb Case, by Edgar Kemler, in *The Nation* of June 12, 1954.)

Lamb's case made a few headlines last fall during the first round of public hearings, which started September 15, 1954. When they are resumed on February 9, there will be some real fireworks, for the case has more serious implications for civil liberties than any other security case now before the public.

The Federal Communications Commission does not claim the right to ban "tainted" broadcasters from the air in the same fashion as the government claims the right to get rid of tainted federal employees. All it asks is that applicants for TV or radio licenses tell the truth about the nature of their involvement—specifically, whether or not they were ever guilty of "intellectual sympathy" with communism, whatever that is. This is a devious question which can hardly demand a straight answer. On the one hand, it is almost impossible for an intelligent, idealistic man like Lamb to have lived through the thirties without having felt some sympathy for human rights. On the other hand, to admit this sympathy today is to expose oneself to worse penalties than expulsion from the radio-TV industry.

That is the trap in which Lamb now finds himself. Back in 1948, when he applied for his first radio license, he informed the Federal Communications Commission of his political and economic affiliations, which were those of a liberal, pioneering New Deal independent. The commission learned, however, that he had been a member of various organizations now suspect, such as the National Lawyers' Guild, which he helped found, and had written a book in 1933 discussing the planned economy of Soviet Russia. Since then Lamb's affiliations have been checked and cleared at least six times, by both the F. B. I. and the F. C. C. Lamb himself revealed his independence to the F. C. C.; he is proud that he was a corporation lawyer who took labor cases.

Not until the reorganization of the commission as a Republican agency in 1953 and the appointment of John C. Doerfer, a protege of Senator McCarthy, was Lamb's "explanation" called into question. Commissioner Doerfer and some of his Republican colleagues contend that Lamb had "intellectually accepted communism and knowingly contributed to Communist causes." Against this, letters from J. Edgar Hoover and others have been presented which extol Lamb for his anti-Communist editorials.

LAMB insisted before the United States Senate that if he had not switched his support from the Republican nominee for the Presidency in 1948 to the Democratic nominee in 1952 he would not now be faced with these charges. He was told as much by Doerfer himself. It is obvious that if Lamb is forced to give up his Erie station, WICU-TV, the most profitable of his half-dozen radio-TV properties – its estimated value is $10,000,000—and the only one now in question, it will go to a Republican competitor. By unanimous vote Democrats and Republicans on the Senate committee joined to confirm Doerfer in his F. C. C. job after he said that Lamb would at least be given a bill of particulars of the charges against him. But the particulars were never given; and neither Lamb nor his attorney, former Attorney General J. Howard

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McGrath, was advised what his unknown accusers would accuse him of.

At the beginning of the case Lamb was charged not merely with the lesser evil of fellow-traveling but with having been a Communist Party member from 1944 to 1948. Later the more serious charge of party membership was dropped.

Since the hearings last fall the tide has been setting in Lamb's favor. The Scripps-Howard papers and various magazines have begun to view the F. C. C.'s case with a highly suspicious eye. If a reputable TV broadcaster can be trapped by the government on a remote security issue, then sooner or later reputable newsmen will be trapped the same way. Anyone with a federal license, even a hunting license, can be called up for a security hearing and asked about his thoughts twenty years ago. There is evidence, too, that Lamb's long-silent Democratic friends in the Senate will soon speak up for their benefactor—for many years Lamb has been among the largest donors to the Democratic Party. It even looks as if Doerfer and his colleagues might try to drop the case. If they do not, it will be tried in the courts, for Lamb has brought action in the District of Columbia's Circuit Court of Appeals questioning the right of the F. C. C. to ask him about his private thoughts.

UNDOUBTEDLY, Doerfer's case against Lamb would be stronger if he could have proved the earlier charge that Lamb was a concealed Communist from 1944 to 1948. Why he believed this charge and why he clung to it from July 29, 1953, to July 29, 1954, is still something of a mystery. Perhaps he believed it because he wanted to believe it. Or perhaps one of the professional ex-Communists of Toledo, Lamb's home town, told Doerfer something in private that he would not repeat in public under oath. One such ex-Communist is known to have offered a $1,000 bribe to another ex-Communist to testify about Lamb's presence at the dedication of Lincoln House, which has since been described as a bookstore patronized by Communists in 1944. Yet the significance of this bit of chicanery is also clouded. Lamb's speech at Lincoln House was made to urge Communists to honor the war-time alliance of Soviet Russia and the United States. Many public officials and non-Communists attended the opening of the bookstore and urged unity behind the war effort.

The testimony already given, which exceeds a million words, is chiefly notable for the vain effort of Walter C. ("Bucky") Powell, commission counsel, to close the gap between Lamb and the Toledo ex-Communists. Unable to prove that Lamb was a party member, Powell has harped on his alleged "contributions" to party causes, such as a $2 ticket Lamb was supposed to have bought to a picnic that may have been Republican or Democratic or Communist — the commission witnesses are not certain. Conceivably Lamb, along with other non-Communists, could have been on the party's list of persons to be solicited for contributions, though as Russell Brown, one of Lamb's hard-hitting counsel has pointed out, this fact has not been established. An ex-Communist consultant on a $25-a-day testify-for-hire basis, asserts that Lamb was twice asked for $100 contributions in 1944 but admits that no such contribution was made. Ernest Courey, who says he saw Lamb give $7 to a party member in 1938 and again in 1940, was not in fact a Communist. He says he was a spy for a strike-breaking agency. Courey had a conviction for second-degree murder in his background, but he could not "remember" the incident when testifying in detail about conversations he overheard twenty years ago.

It was in desperation, apparently, that Powell put the colorful Mrs. Marie Natvig on the stand. A little reflection would have told him that Mrs. Natvig was mentally too erratic to testify effectively about anything. Moreover, her knowledge of communism in general and of Lamb in particular was evidently gleaned largely from the feature sections of the Sunday papers. Powell apparently chose to believe her amazing story about a "romance" with Lamb back in the thirties. Her testimony touched on a Communist pow-wow in Columbus, Ohio, in the spring of 1936—other F. C. C. witnesses say there was no such meeting. Then, with advance notice to the newspapers, she told of her "first act of infidelity, which indirectly resulted in her divorce." With promptings from F. C. C. counsel she recalled lectures on "hot and cold wars" which Lamb delivered a decade before the hot-and-cold war terminology was invented. She even said an alleged Lamb agent, one Milling Underwood, had attempted to bribe her with $50,000 to stay off the witness stand. Underwood, a retired railroad man, was immediately found by Lamb's counsel. He testified that he had never heard of Lamb, that he was picked up in a Washington bar by Mrs. Natvig, and that no bribe of $50,000 was ever mentioned. Incidentally, Powell left the F. C. C. on January 3 and was taken on by the National Association of Radio-TV Broadcasters.

PUBLICLY Lamb says he is confident he will win his case. But he has already suffered serious financial injury from the F. C. C.'s attacks. Pending the outcome the commission will not even let him repair or properly maintain his TV and radio stations. And because hostile politicians and editors, in addition to Commissioner Doerfer, have wrongly leaped to the conclusion that he was once close enough to the Communist Party, he has felt obliged to start a number of legal actions in which he is now demanding more than $1,500,000 for libel damage. Meanwhile Lamb is quietly bolstering and diversifying his $30,000,000 business empire against the possibility of being driven out of broadcasting. He has manufacturing, publishing, and other interests which are not "subject to shakedown by licensing agencies." Ironically, by current F. C. C. standards, his great wealth ought to be the most compelling argument for his loyalty as an American.

In a column headed Publisher's Notebook which he runs each week in his Erie *Dispatch*, Lamb makes no bones about the fact that he was a liberal in the depression years, that he is a liberal now in his years of abundance, and that he will remain a liberal in the years ahead. Privately Lamb says that he will continue the fight to clear his name if it takes his last penny. "There are basic American rights involved, and I want to go out of this world with the knowledge that I have fought for a better, more wholesome country, an America where intelligent men live and prosper in an atmosphere of freedom."

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BOOKS

The Good Agitator

HOMEGROWN LIBERAL: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES W. ERVIN. Edited by Jean Gould. Dodd, Mead and Company. $4.

By Matthew Josephson

THE long and truly distinguished career of "Charley" Ervin as newspaper editor, labor-union official, and lobbyist for the common people spanned fully seven-eighths of a century when it ended in February, 1953. A good many of his thousands of friends actually believed he might live forever; for he was in old age a handsome bearded giant of a man who ate, drank, and laughed heartily, as with a good conscience, up to the last hours. Blessed with something like "total recall," he could tell excellent stories of the "uplifters" of a generation ago, and even of the eggheads of the generation before that—going back almost as far as Abraham Lincoln. To converse with this honest, old-fashioned editor, one of the leading figures among our old-school Socialists, was like reopening the pages of history. It is fine that he set down something of what he had seen in his autobiography—which is concerned more with others than himself. "Homegrown Liberal" possesses much interest as an informal history of the progressive and radical movements of long ago; it may serve as a useful supplement to the longer, more analytical memoirs of Ervin's old friend Lincoln Steffens.

A native of Philadelphia, of Irish Protestant, middle-class stock, Ervin came to socialism after years of activity among the municipal-reform groups of his "corrupt and contented" city. In the 1900's he began to write for Socialist newspapers and run for office regularly on the Socialist Party ticket, serving as editor of the New York *Call* for six years after 1916. Under Ervin the *Call* became America's most successful and influential Socialist daily, with a circulation of 70,000 at its peak. Around that time many persons seriously believed that the country would be won over to socialism "within sixteen years," these cheerful estimates being based on the current rate of growth of the party under the inspiring Debs. But in the dog days of the 1930's factional strife rent the Socialists, and Ervin resigned as editor of the *Call*, which soon ceased publication. Thereafter, like Steffens, he served as the guide, the counselor, and, in effect, the conscience of various men and organizations devoted to reform. During the last quarter-century of his life Ervin worked with Sidney Hillman or with Hillman's union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as editor and Washington representative.

LIKE many American Socialists, Ervin was never strong on Marxism. His intellectual roots were rather in the anti-monopolist ideas of the 1880's and 1890's, when Americans so commonly feared and detested the so-called "malefactors of great wealth." On this score Ervin's convictions were not very different from those of men like the elder La Follette, Louis D. Brandeis, George W. Norris, E. W. Scripps, and Morris L. Cook, all of whom figure prominently in his reminiscences. Today, of course, it is fashionable for our historians and journalists to make genuflections before the possessors of wealth. It would be an illuminating experience for them if they could be induced to read some of the chapters of this autobiography, which give an honest and precise account of how the grandfathers of our present-day art patrons and philanthropists worked hand in glove with rings of political grafters to gain for themselves invaluable franchises for monopolistic street railways or gas companies—thus laying the foundations for many of the great family fortunes of our day.

By the time he was seventy, during the great depression of the 1930's, Ervin was really going strong. It was the season for Congressional investigations, not of a few impecunious schoolmasters or radicals, but of the great financiers and corporations whose excesses, in some measure, were held responsible for the economic debacle of 1929-33. Hillman had the ideas; Ervin knew hundreds of newspapermen whom he had trained, and could reach the ear of half the members of Congress. The Economic Council bill, sponsored by Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., in 1931, and the hearings instituted for it, made headlines and undoubtedly hastened the enactment of measures for public relief by the federal government. Toward 1936 Ervin was also active in the inner circle that conceived the idea of the Senate's famous labor-spy investigation—whose chief architect was his friend Heber Blankenhorn. His behind-scenes reports of these and other actions offer many useful lessons to us in the art of agitation—agitation through proper channels for the public welfare. But the success of such undertakings, always exposed to the attacks of powerful pressure groups, largely depends, as Ervin stipulates, upon the existence of a favorable climate of opinion. Yesterday people were outraged at authentic reports of the doings of professional strike-breaking agencies. Today public opinion seems benumbed if not asleep.

Emerson once defined his own mission as essentially that of an "agitator." Ervin was a good one in Emerson's sense of the term. The task of arousing the forces of moral indignation in the people was for him an endless challenge. In his last hours, as his autobiography breaks off, he writes these lines of protest:

> What is happening in 1953 seems almost unbelievable to a man of my years. . . . I was approaching the scriptural three score and ten when I saw the black plague of unemployment descend on this country only two years after Hoover had been elected on a slogan of abolishing poverty. . . . It is possible that I have seen millions emerge from this poverty . . . and again witnessed these same people fooled into putting their affairs into the hands which had plunged them into misery twenty years ago.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON is the author of "Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor" and other books.

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Death of a Ghost

A WORLD OF LOVE. By Elizabeth Bowen. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

By Carlos Baker

SINCE the death of Virginia Woolf there remain only a handful of women in America and the British Isles capable of conducting with grace and credibility and humor the tenuous sort of investigation one finds in Elizabeth Bowen's fine new Irish novel. Besides Miss Bowen, as gifted practititoners of a fiction which approaches the condition of poetry, one would name in England Rosamond Lehmann, and in America Jean Stafford, Euroda Welty, and Caroline Gordon. It is characteristic of many of these novels that scarcely anything happens externally. In "A World of Love" a cup of tea in the morning garden, a reading from a pack of letters in a sheltered thicket, a dinner party at the castle to show how the other half half-lives, the making of hay in the fields of County Cork, a van ride to the Shannon airport by way of climax—these are all, and they are not very much.

What significantly happens is mainly internal, and to overestimate its importance, given this kind of novel, would be difficult indeed. For that is where the world of love exists, and where all the changes on Miss Bowen's central theme are silently rung. The music is never louder than the beating of a heart. And the evidence of dissonance issues forth only in half-voiced syllables, lifts of eyebrows, muted outbursts quickly subsident.

Considering that the problem of the novel is the subtle adjustment of several psychomachies, it is a stroke of genius, first that the action should occur in a summer heat wave when rebellions may be astir and changes imminent, and second that the locale should be a seedy farmstead called Montefort in that enchanted south-of-Ireland landscape where almost anything fantastic could happen though next to nothing outwardly does.

One emphasizes the *outwardly* here, but most especially the *next to nothing*. For what really happens is inward and, just there, next to nothingness: the imaginative evocation and development of a male ghost which is then, vestige by vestige, destroyed in all but one of those hearts where the vestige has lingered in the years between two world wars. In Ireland, by ancient custom, one lays the errant ghost with a stake of holly in its heart at some rural crossroads. Here the exorcism is accomplished at a spiritual crossroads—what Meredith means by Crossways—in the life of a family. The skilfully fashioned two-part structure of the novel is indeed in some respects Meredithian; in other ways it may remind readers of "Pride and Prejudice" as possibly conducted by Henry James.

For the Danby family has a twenty-one-year estrangement at its center, is indeed built up round the image of a man who fell in France in the 1918 war. His name was Guy and he was cousin to Antonia, the middle-aging writer who owns Montefort and, in a manner of speaking, the Danby family also, which lives there by her wish and sufferance. Fred Danby, patient and hardworking, playing second fiddle to the ghost of Guy, farms the land and pays Antonia half-shares. And he half-shares with the ghost his wife Lilia, who toils not nor spins, preferring to leave these tasks to the happy scullion, Kathie. Maud, the youngest child, in her rain cape and her kitten rages, is a fine humorous blend of leprechaun and quarrelsome adolescent. The real heroine is the older daughter Jane, a sturdy and nubile romantic, fresh as June grass and as innocent.

All these people hover on the edge of new lives until, at the climactic time, their bonds are dissolved and they move across the line. Lilia was to have married Guy. Upon his death Antonia desperately arranged Lilia's marriage to Fred. The ghost having kept them apart, it is fitting that the daughter, another and wiser Lilia in the second generation, should be the agent of its dissolution. The modus operandi is a packet of Guy's letters, uncovered in the attic at Montefort by Jane and then passed round from lap to lap like a talisman. It is as if, being brought to light, their aura must first glow, then fade. With its expiration goes the power of Guy's domination.

Miss Bowen's prose, as always, is a sensitive instrument, capable of evoking both the magic of the countryside and the anti-romanticism of bare towns like Clonmore, along whose main street one sees "the alternately dun and painted houses, cars parked askew, straying ash carts, and fallen bicycles. Dung baked on the pavements since yesterday morning's fair. . . . Many and sour were the pubs. Overexposed, the town was shadeless—never a tree, never an awning. Ice cream on sale, but never a cafe. Clonmore not only provided no place to be, it provided no reason to be, at all. So, but for the heat, was the place at all times—but the glare today stripped it of even its frowsty mystery, flattened it out, deadly glazed into a picture postcard such as one might receive from Hell."

The world of love has many mansions. Miss Bowen does not pretend to explore them all—except perhaps by the subtle synecdoche of her craft.

CARLOS BAKER is chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University.

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This suggests where it does not exhaust, opens avenues in the imagination, and makes us aware, in the breathless closing sentence of the novel, of the always recurrent power of romantic love to seize, and to dominate from within, those lives which are prepared for it by what Plato called "the emulous desire for what is fine."

Milton As Defender

THE LIFE RECORDS OF JOHN MILTON. Volume III, 1651-1654. Edited by J. Milton French. Rutgers University Press. $7.50.

By Donald A. Roberts

IN REVIEWS of Volumes I and II (printed in *The Nation,* August 5, 1950, and May 12, 1951), the character and scope of this massive work were set forth in some detail. Though not a biography in the conventional sense, it presents in chronological order all the known facts of Milton's biography, public service, and literary career during four of the most important years of his life. It is significant that though Volume III is the longest of the three so far published, it covers by far the shortest period of time, four years as compared with thirty-one in Volume I and twelve in Volume II.

The disparity between years of life and pages of text is not surprising. During the early 1650's Milton led a crowded public and private life. And he was both officially and personally defender of the faith of Englishmen. His blindness became complete. His private business affairs continued to be irksome. His duties at the Foreign Office were unusually heavy. He was perplexed and disturbed by Cromwell's assumption of power, which denied his own ideals of republicanism. But, above all, he was the public champion of his country. In his "Defense of the English People" (1651) he penned a ringing refutation of the Stuart propaganda written by the eminent scholar Salmasius. Three years later he answered a new and more insidious attack by writing "Defensio Secunda," perhaps his greatest work in prose. Not the least interesting of the items Dr. French chronicles are the comments of friends and foes throughout Europe on these two great tracts. Many in England as well as abroad were particularly stirred to praise or to blame by the long, dignified autobiographical account or the appraisal of Cromwell and his chief ministers in the second tract.

Though Professor French's work is basically a compilation and has therefore the self-imposed design of simple chronology, it by no means lacks imagination. Reason is choice, Milton said. Dr. French obviously agrees, for he has chosen the items in the three volumes on a most solid basis of scholarly reason. But he has done more: he has shown real imagination in searching out illuminating bits of fact and comment which less perceptive scholars might well have overlooked.

Two more volumes will bring the work to its conclusion. Already, however, it is indispensable for all who read or study Milton as poet or pamphleteer and for all who desire to find out why Milton would still be a very great man if he had never written a line of poetry. Since literary criticism, as we understand it, did not exist in Milton's time, little commentary on the poetry appears. More references to the prose works are to be expected in view of their controversial content. Any considerable lack of material, in other words, is to be attributed to the non-existence of such material rather than to lack of diligence on the part of Dr. French. The massive ore of Milton learning is here in full measure.

DONALD A. ROBERTS is associate professor of English at the City College, New York.

Theater

Harold Clurman

WILLIAM SAROYAN'S "The Time of Your Life" (City Center) is a little classic of the American theater. I do not use the word "little" to indicate any lack of value or the word "classic" to signify any pretension of profundity. The simple fact is that in "The Time of Your Life" Saroyan has not only given us the essence of his talent, his personality, and his sense of life but in doing so has expressed in delightfully theatrical terms a certain American dream and a certain American tradition. It is the dream of freedom in an almost childlike aspect, the tradition of a lovable vagrancy.

Americans believe in work, in accomplishment, in success. What we have built as a result of this credo is the most complicated and gigantic civilization the world has ever known. This civilization is at once a smash hit and an unspeakable burden. We are both proud of it and weary; we groan under its duties as we exult in its products. We trumpet its triumphs as we reach for our sleeping pills.

The typical hero of such a civilization is the super-colossal achiever of the greatest amount of financial, social, or physical displacement—some sort of personal atomic explosion. But such heroes—and we produce them constantly—soon become as stupefying as the works they create. We seek relief from them in anti-heroes—those with whom we can laugh, those toward whom we can feel kindness, those whom we envy not because of their greatness but, on the contrary, because of their littleness, their endearing inconspicuousness.

This sentiment produced such symbols as Chaplin's early pictures and motivates the hobo figure of our popular literature and stage. Saroyan's "The Time of Your Life" is a charmingly effusive, drunkenly dreamy, deft and darling piece of hoboism. We are nuts, but we are good, says the hobo poet; we know that life can be sweet because there is sweetness in all of us, but we allow ourselves to become bewildered —we have lost our "foundation"—through the fraudulent mechanism

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of the world which has been elaborated around us. People who are full of hate may be brushed aside without malice, like bugs. For the rest we have only to accept the life process—inhale and exhale; there is romance, fun, genius, and song on all sides.

Saroyan's play is wayward and airy. It is inspired by the bonhommie of the bar, the mildness, good nature, and cosmopolitan color of San Francisco itself. It moves in circles like a carrousel to beer-hall music spiced with strains of Orientalism and a gently drugged jazz. The dialogue is like a delicious babel of homespun jokes mingled with the strange clamor made by all the languages and races of a port town. There is the constant echo of laughter, and now and again the faint suspicion of a sob. The pervasive quality as well as the "philosophy" of the play is one of lyric anarchism.

If I speak with unabashed affection of "The Time of Your Life" it is not without a certain pang of regret. For I must make a public confession now—sixteen years after the event: I once turned down the opportunity to produce this gay and lovely play. It has always been difficult for me to explain or even fully to understand the reason. Perhaps there is in this play, besides the things that endear it to me, a certain cloying infantilism, exemplified by the scene in which the play's central vagabond and his companion vie with each other as to which can consume the greatest number of jelly beans, the "wiser" of the two exclaiming, "I've been wanting to do this all my life."

It is this trait in the play that spoils it for some people and probably spoiled it for me on that lamentable occasion sixteen years ago. But every work suffers from the defects of its qualities, and it is a serious critical weakness to detect the vice before one has a chance to appreciate the virtue of what is fundamentally a healthy, joyous dramatic spree in praise of folly.

NEXT WEEK

John Ciardi will review

E. E. Cummings's

"Poems 1923-1954"

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

BELIEF IN GOD ROBBED OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BY ANCIENT ORTHODOXY. — SOCIAL JUSTICE OVERSHADOWED BY "RIGHTEOUSNESS." — REVERSAL OF EMPHASIS INEVITABLE AND IMPERATIVE. — Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when Belief in God came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right." And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

RETURN OF RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS TO SOCIAL JUSTICE INEVITABLE AND INDISPENSIBLE. — No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "Righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i.e., "God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

FREE MATERIAL AVAILABLE.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History. If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

IN ADDITION TO ABOVE CIRCULAR, FURTHER MATERIAL IN PREPARATION. — The title of the new circular is, Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief. It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request not accompanied by a three cent stamp (or two three cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, already printed; and second, Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief, in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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Films

Robert Hatch

AS FILM craftsmanship "The Wages of Fear" is entirely admirable. In matters of direction, photography, acting, and editing it is at a level of excellence completely above the "good" pictures one sees from week to week. For adequate comparison one has to recall "Forbidden Games" or "The Magic Garden" or "Paisan." But in any moral sense "The Wages of Fear" is a bad picture, cruel and essentially meaningless.

The picture was directed by H. G. Clouzot—who made "Quai des Orfevres" and collaborated on "Le Corbeau"—using an international cast on location in Central America. Clouzot also adapted it from a novel by Georges Arnaud. The leading actors are Yves Montand and Charles Vanel, both French, supported by Folco Lulli, an Italian, and Peter Van Eyck, whom I believe to be American.

The story opens on the porch and in the cafe of the hotel-general store which is the social center of a remote and squalid Central American oil town. A dozen or so idlers are scattered about the premises, grumbling at the heat, trying to cadge credit from the proprietor, making idle love to the native slavey, and desperately wishing they had the several hundred dollars needed to get a man out of this slow but deadly trap. Apparently there is no work for them in the oil camp, and, to be fair about it, they look incapable of any solid work, though you sense about each of them that he was once effective and perhaps even skilled.

The picture sets up the atmosphere of sloth and dirt and decay, the mood of impotent violence, with a few casual and entirely simple scenes. There is no trick to it that you can detect, but in ten minutes you feel that you have been loafing with these men for months.

At this point a well three hundred miles up country catches fire; nitroglycerin is needed to blow it out, and it must be trucked from the base in town over almost impassable mountain and jungle roads. It is suicide work and suicide wages are offered —$1,000 per man. Four volunteers are chosen from the idlers, and the main story begins. The two Frenchmen take one truck, Lulli and Van Eyck the other; roaring in low gear, they creep out into the night. The deadly odyssey is a rack on which the audience is stretched to an ever-tighter tension. It moves from almost hysterical melodrama to loathsome horror to the gratuitous killing off of everyone principally concerned. It is the torment and disgust of war without the conflict of war; it is the courage of monomania, the heroism of Russian roulette, the resolution of a man who will beat and humiliate and in the end kill a friend to get through—and make $1,000.

I have rarely been so gripped by a picture, and never so disgusted with myself afterward. M. Clouzot is bent on reducing his spectators to a pulp, and he largely succeeds by the not very honorable means of reducing his characters to pulp. Why, if two trucks full of nitroglycerin must be sent three hundred miles over the most villainous roads imaginable, was not a pilot truck sent ahead to fill the worst holes and remove the worst obstacles? Because it makes a better story the other way. Incident after incident on the journey is cynically contrived for maximum scariness. The whole episode is as synthetically thrilling as a ride on a scenic railway, but the people are so real you can smell their terror. I think it is as cruel a game as was ever dreamed up to feed the sadism of a Roman emperor. I admire it but I also deplore it.

EXCEPT for murder, which always has a certain dramatic flashiness, most crime is boring. Its practitioners seem an unimaginative and imitative lot, which is probably just as well. The group that held up the Brink offices in Boston a year or so ago was witty and stylish; it was entirely successful. So the Brink robbery should provide a rare chance for turning a real crime to good ac-

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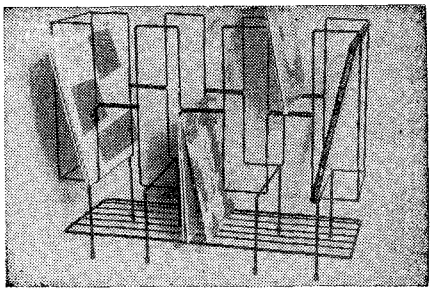
count as entertainment. But "Six Bridges to Cross," whose hero is supposed to have executed that excellent larceny, is a mulish and sentiment-sodden film. Jerry Florea is just naturally bad, and Detective Gallagher, who tries to reform him, is just naturally gullible, and the audience just naturally fidgets while these two work out their dreary duet over a period of about twenty years. Jerry, the brilliant schemer, always uses the same disguises and always cooks up the same type of alibi; it is a real libel on the Boston police that he should be allowed to run loose at all. "Six Bridges to Cross" is no impediment to anyone wishing to turn the Brink case into a good yarn.

"THE TIGER AND THE FLAME" is, I believe, the first technicolor film made in India with Indian technicians and actors. It boasts a cast of 25,000, which is a warning that it is a somewhat primitive work. More developed film projects get along on less man-power.

The story is a heroic folk legend based on the incidents leading up to the Sepoy Rebellion. Its heroine is an Indian Joan of Arc who dies as a symbol of India's coming freedom. The acting is stiff, the story is mechanical, and the thread of action is repeatedly broken for not particularly effective moments of spectacle. The sets are over-elaborate, and the colors are garish—bazaar rich, they looked. I doubt that the picture is as good a sample of Indian taste as "The Gate of Hell" is of Japanese taste. It was an odd sensation to watch Orientals playing English soldiers and diplomats. They were as convincing, probably, as Warner Oland used to be to the Chinese.



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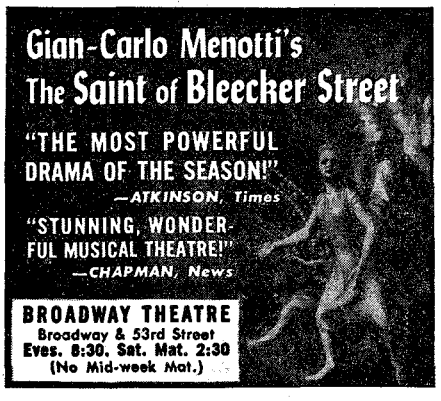

Music

B. H. Haggin

MORE THAN ONCE, when discussing the decline in the broadcasting of music by the American networks, I have pointed out that even at its highest point it hadn't approximated what the British Broadcasting Corporation has done. That is, the American networks, exploiting names that had prestige for the mass public, had presented the great orchestras and the Metropolitan Opera, and had seen music almost exclusively as the standard orchestral and operatic repertory; whereas the BBC had systematically explored the entire musical literature—the literature not only of opera and the orchestra but of solo instruments, the voice, and chamber groups, the unfamiliar music of the past, the new music of today. This was true twenty-five years ago, when I first got to know what the BBC was doing, and found that it included the survey called "Foundations of Music"; and from an article by the English critic Gerald Abraham in the *Saturday Review* a year ago I learned of a project carried out by the BBC's Third Program—a "History in Sound of European Music" comprising "more than a hundred weekly programs of music and explanatory talk, each program lasting half an hour to an hour. It was planned on the assumption that the music of every known period contains at least a proportion of still living art, well worth listening to if only we can conquer any initial strangeness of idiom. The things broadcast were, of course, not all masterpieces, but none of them was a mere museum piece. The result was a revelation of vitality and beauty . . .; the public response was far larger and more favorable than anyone had dared to hope."

Moreover, this project made possible another. In addition to being in charge of the radio series Abraham was one of the editors of the "New Oxford History of Music"; and as such he was concerned with the problem that faces every writer or editor of a book on music—the difficult problem of illustration. In a book one can quote a poem and reproduce a picture, but one can't provide the sound of a piece of music. At most one can print the piece in musical notation; but not everyone can read this notation or translate it into the real or imagined sound of the piece; and this difficulty is greater with old music: it isn't, as Abraham pointed out, merely that one will get a false idea of old keyboard music—or, I might add, old vocal polyphony—by playing it on the modern piano; it is also that one needs to grasp "a strange style of performance, strange types of sound, an unfamiliar spirit." The piece may seem "dry and repellent . . . on paper, yet how fresh and alive and delightful it may be when an imaginative and accomplished scholar-executant . . . makes it sound."

Abraham therefore interested HMV in recording some of the performances of unfamiliar old music that had been prepared for the broadcasts and issuing them as a "History of Music in Sound," each of whose ten volumes covers the period dealt with in the corresponding volume of the "New Oxford History." The first volume of the "New Oxford History" to be issued here is Volume 2, "Early Medieval Music up to 1300" (Oxford; $8.75), which contains references to the recordings of some of the pieces in Volume 2 of the "History of Music

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FILM

The stirring CBS film based on Justice William O. Douglas' "An Almanac of Liberty" will be shown at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 West 73 St., nr. G'way; Wed., Feb. 9, 8:30 P.M. Admission Free. Auspices: Brotherhood, Free Israel and Gamut Chapters, New York, Jewish Conference.

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in Sound" (RCA Victor LM-6015). And on the other hand the volume of recordings is accompanied by a booklet containing material from the book—the text of each piece of music or a substantial part of it in musical notation, plus translations, informative notes, and bibliographies. In his introduction to the booklet Dom Anselm Hughes, like Abraham, contends that the music on the records "should not be regarded merely as a collection of interesting but dead museum specimens"; in his introduction to the book he writes that "until recent times the music of this period was regarded as merely embryonic, interesting only because it contains the seed of later developments. Increasing knowledge has given us a clearer view and deeper understanding." But I must report that of the pieces on the records only very few have more than historic interest for me; and I will add that I found many more that were "fresh and alive and delightful" in the Haydn Society's "Masterpieces of Music Before 1750."

Having the phonograph to provide necessary illustration isn't the only way the "New Oxford History" benefits by the interval of fifty years since the original "Oxford History." In their general introduction the editors point out that "during the first half of the present century an enormous amount of detailed work has been done on every period covered by the original volumes. New materials have been discovered, new relationships revealed, new interpretations made possible"; and reliable editions have been published "of a mass of music which was previously available only in manuscript or in rare printed copies. All this ruled out further revision of the original volumes, and made possible "an entirely new survey of music from the earliest times down to comparatively recent years, including not only the achievements of the Western world but also the contributions made by eastern civilizations and primitive societies."

Abraham also is editor of a symposium, "Handel" (Oxford; $6), which includes a chapter on the operas by E. J. Dent. And another book which, as I have glanced through it, seemed very good is Karl Geiringer's "The Bach Family: Seven Generations of Creative Genius" (Oxford; $7.50).

Letters

Dear Sirs: Jennings Perry's article on the Louisville indictments in your issue of January 15 brings to your readers a gruesome example of the witch hunt's descent to lower levels. Of the seven friends of the Negro who have been indicted, one has been in jail without trial since September 24, 1954 (his bail was set at $23,000 but was later lowered to $10,000); a seventy-nine year-old man has been in jail since October 1, 1954, also without trial (his bail was set for $20,000 and later reduced to $10,000); and a third, Carl Braden, has been convicted of "sedition" and sentenced to fifteen years in jail. His bail has been set for $40,000 and he is in jail pending the appeal of the case and the amount of bail.

All seven of the defendants have asked the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to give them legal aid and help them to raise the exorbitant bail and other court costs. One of the seven is Louise Gilbert, a social worker in Louisville who as the chairman of the local branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent out a letter asking her fellow-citizens to show patience and tolerance for their Negro neighbors. Miss Gilbert will be in New York on February 10 to speak at a meeting called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at the Carlton Terrace, 2633 Broadway (at 99th St.). Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the E.C.L.C., will preside at the meeting. In addition to Miss Gilbert the speakers will be two distinguished attorneys who have recently visited Louisville in connection with these cases: Louis L. Redding of Wilmington, Delaware, and Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel of E.C.L.C., who assisted in the legal defense of Mr. Braden in the trial court.

Anyone who cares to contribute to the defense of the Louisville seven, or to help in meeting the bail bonds necessary to get the three out of jail, may do so by sending their money to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1.

CLARK FOREMAN
Director, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
New York

CORRECTION

In B. H. Haggin's article in the January 29 issue the last sentence in the fourth paragraph should have read: Both composers exhibit competence in putting sounds together—Riegger in an idiom that communicates nothing to me, Mennin in one that I find intelligible but uninteresting.

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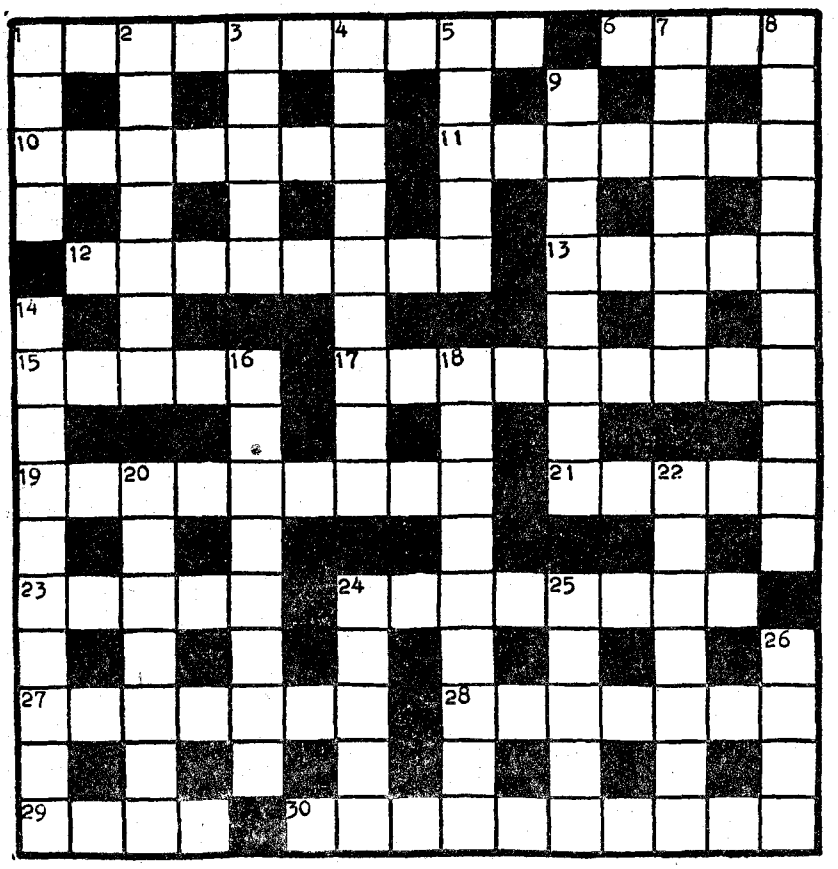
Crossword Puzzle No. 605

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One who teaches you to go around in good condition qualified for this. (10)

6 and down 4 Virtuous, and not too bright! (4, 3, 6)

10 and 11 Referred to generally in fat people? (2, 5, 7)

12 A bad case with the shakes is developed by the abstemious. (8)

13 Sounds like I will make way. (5)

15 Noel's other name. (5)

17 A good score not now attached to the building. (9)

19 What one might give lawyers for servants. (9)

21 Title superior to 22. (5)

23 Hail and farewell? (5)

24 Put in the decimal, if the pencil isn't like this. (5, 3)

27 Moral. (7)

28 What one might have to turn at the console, as an instrument of thought. (7)

29 Trim. (4)

30 Precise, or the face of something original. (10)

DOWN

1 Grip, somewhat like the head of 30. (4)

2 See 14 down.

3 Accustom. (5)

4 See 6 across.

5 Brings into the wind. (5)

7 Swollen and sun-ripe. (7)

8 Serene star of the orientals. (10)

9 Do sufferers from it make poor correspondents? (8)

14 and 2 down List of Lancasters and Yorks? (10, 2, 5)

16 Rather bothersome, but is put in the shade. (8)

18 Repose I make cordlike. (9)

20 With projections to do the changing. (7)

22 Title somewhat inferior to 21. (7)

24 Ionized. (5)

25 It was 20 like a saber long ago. (5)

26 Nothing under a deep blue. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 604

ACROSS: 1 NETHERMOST; 10 GUELPHS; 11 STOICAL; 12 INDISCRIMINATE; 14 EXECRATE; 15 SIERRA; 16 CREAMS; 18 BADGERED; 22 PORTAL TO PORTAL; 24 SHEARER; 25 HARPIES; 26 and 8 down OUTSELLS; 27 OLD MASTERS. Down: 1 NEGLIGENCE; 2 TREADLE; 3 EXPOSURE METERS; 4 MUSKRAT; 5 SESAME; 7 INCITER; 9 SOUNDING BOARDS; 13 HANDCLASPS; 17 ERODENT; 19 APOTHEM; 20 RATLINE; 21 and 6 PLURAL WIFE; 23 OSLO.

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